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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09	H-01
	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	RPE-00	/024W		
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O 271502Z NOV 92
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2359
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 04901

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW
SUBJECT: ARUSHA PROGRESS

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 6819

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THE PRESIDENT, THE PRIME MINISTER AND
THE BISHOPS HAVE MET SEVERAL TIMES IN THE LAST THREE
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DAYS. THE BISHOPS HAVE MADE SOME GENERAL
RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE ARUSHA PROCESS, AND TWO
ALTERNATIVE SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR POWER SHARING. AT
THE REQUEST OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE PRESIDENT,
THE BISHOPS ARE NOW WORKING ON A SYNTHESIS OF THE TWO
PROPOSALS. WITH THE PAPAL NUNCIO, WESTERN
AMBASSADORS HERE BELIEVE A DEMARCHE NOW WOULD BE
PREMATURE, BUT ARE PREPARED TO SUPPORT A COMPROMISE
WHICH MAY EMERGE THIS WEEKEND. END SUMMARY.

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THE BISHOPS ARE ACTIVE

3. AFTER MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRIME MINISTER TOGETHER ON NOVEMBER 25, THE AD HOC ASSEMBLY OF BISHOPS PUT TOGETHER A REPORT WITH RECOMMENDATIONS AND SENT IT TO THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE PRESIDENT.

4. THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED THE WRITTEN REPORT ON NOVEMBER 26 AND ASKED THE BISHOPS TO COME UP WITH MORE SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS. HE CALLED ME ON THE 26TH QUITE AGITATED BECAUSE HE HAD HEARD THAT THE RPF HAD SUGGESTED IN ARUSHA ONLY THREE MINISTERIAL PORTFOLIOS FOR THE MRND, AND HE WAS CONVINCED THAT FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRA HAD PUT THEM UP TO IT AND WAS, THEREFORE, IN ACCORD. BUT, AT THE TIME, HE TOLD ME THAT HE EXPECTED TO HAVE ON THE MORNING OF NOVEMBER 27 A MORE SPECIFIC PROPOSAL FROM THE BISHOPS. LATE EVENING NOVEMBER 26, THE PRESIDENT'S DIRECTOR OF CABINET CAME BY TO GIVE ME ESSENTIALLY

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THE SAME MESSAGE, AND TO URGE US AND THE PAPAL NUNCIO TO ENCOURAGE THE BISHOPS TO COME FORWARD WITH AN ORAL REPORT THIS MORNING WHICH WOULD MAKE SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS. AT THAT TIME, ENOCH FORESHADOWED THE FIRST ALTERNATIVE THAT ACTUALLY EMERGED (PARA 9).

THE PRIME MINISTER VS THE PRESIDENT

5. THE PRIME MINISTER SUMMONED THE DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OBSERVER COUNTRIES EARLY THIS MORNING TO ASK US TO PERSUADE THE PRESIDENT TO ACCEPT THE BISHOPS' RECOMMENDATIONS. BUT THE PRIME MINISTER ONLY HAD THE VAGUE RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE BISHOPS, AD HAD NO INDICATION THAT THE BISHOPS WERE COMING UP WITH SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS. HE EXPRESSED PROFOUND CONCERN THAT, IF THE PRESIDENT DID NOT ACCEPT THE BISHOPS' WORDS, THERE WOULD BE NO PLACE ELSE TO GO, AND THE ARUSHA PROCESS WOULD BREAK DOWN. HE SUGGESTED, HOWEVER, THAT HE COULD NOT CALL HIS DELEGATION HOME AND MAKE IT APPEAR THAT RWANDA HAD BROKEN OFF THE NEGOTIATIONS. THUS HIS DILEMMA. THE PRIME MINISTER THEN WENT OFF TO MEET WITH THE

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PRESIDENT TO SEE IF THEY COULD REACH SOME AGREEMENT.

THE BISHOPS' PROPOSALS:

6. ARTICLE 14 SHOULD BE INTERPRETED TO ENCOURAGE THE
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INCLUSION OF ADDITIONAL POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE
GOVERNMENT, NOT AS A MEASURE TO EXCLUDE PARTIES.

7. THE TRANSITIONAL NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SHOULD BE
APPOINTED BY THE PARTIES, SPECIFICALLY, BY THE MOST
REPRESENTATIVE BODIES OF THE PARTIES, WHICH WOULD
HAVE BEEN THEIR NATIONAL CONVENTIONS. IT SHOULD BE
CALLED THE "NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL" AND WOULD
BE MADE UP OF NO MORE THAN 40 MEMBERS. THE PARTIES
ARE TO MEET WITH THE RPF TO DECIDE THE DISTRIBUTION
OF PARTIES' MEMBERSHIP IN THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2360
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8. TO DETERMINE WHICH PARTIES WOULD BE ELIGIBLE FOR
PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNMENT, THE FOLLOWING
CRITERIA SHOULD BE USED:

A. PARTIES MUST HAVE PUBLICLY INDICATED THEIR
SUPPORT FOR NEGOTIATIONS OF PEACE BETWEEN THE
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GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA AND THE RPF.

B. PARTIES MUST HAVE BEEN IN EXISTENCE FOR AT LEAST
SIX MONTHS AND HAVE HAD ACTIVITIES INCLUDING MEETINGS
OR DEBATES IN AT LEAST FIVE PREFECTURES.

C. PARTIES MUST HAVE ORGANIZATION IN AT LEAST FIVE
PREFECTURES.

D. PARTIES MUST NOT DEMONSTRATE BY WRITING OR ACTS
ANY DISCRIMINATION BASED ON ETHNICITY, REGION, SEX OR
RELIGION.

E. PARTIES MUST NOT SANCTION DISORDER OR CRIMINALITY
IN THE COUNTRY.

NOVEMBER 27

9. IN THE COURSE OF THE MORNING, THE BISHOPS MADE
TWO PROPOSALS TO THE PRESIDENT AND TO THE PRIME
MINISTER. THE FIRST WOULD SPLIT UP THE CABINET

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ACCORDING TO THE FOLLOWING PROPORTIONS:

MRND - 35 PERCENT
CONCERTATION PARTIES (MDR, PL, PSD) - 35 PERCENT
RPF - 20 PERCENT
OTHER PARTIES - 10 PERCENT

10. THE SECOND ALTERNATIVE THAT THE BISHOPS SUGGESTED
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WOULD HAVE THREE MEMBERS EACH FROM THE MRND, MDR,
RPF, PL AND PSD, PLUS ONE SEAT FOR THE PDC AND THREE
SEATS FOR OTHER PARTIES, PRESUMABLY TO BE SELECTED
ACCORDING TO THE CRITERIA IN THEIR EARLIER PAPER.
THIS ASSUMES CONTINUATION OF THE MDR PRIME MINISTER
AND THE MRND PRESIDENT, FOR A TOTAL OF 21 POTENTIALLY
VOTING MEMBERS OF THE GOVERNMENT. IN ORDER TO BLOCK,
THEREFORE, THE MRND WOULD HAVE TO ATTRACT THE VOTES
OF ALL THREE "OTHER PARTIES," AND THE PDC.

11. WHILE ARUSHA IS WAITING FOR THE OUTCOME OF THE
CABINET SESSION, THE CABINET MINISTERS ARE WAITING
FOR A SIGNAL FROM THE PRESIDENT AND/OR THE PRIME
MINISTER.

12. THE PRIME MINISTER OBVIOUSLY OPPOSES THE FIRST
ALTERNATIVE, AND ASKED THE BISHOPS TO GO BACK AND
WORK OUT A COMPROMISE. THE PRESIDENT CLEARLY FINDS
THE SECOND UNACCEPTABLE SINCE IT GIVES THE MRND ONLY
THREE SEATS. BUT THERE MAY BE SOME SPACE FOR
CREATIVE COALITION BUILDING IN THE SECOND SCENARIO.
I ASKED THE PRESIDENT LAST WEEK IF HE COULD ACCEPT
HAVING LESS THAN A BLOCKING THIRD IN THE CABINET IF
OTHER POTENTIAL COALITION PARTNERS WERE AVAILABLE.
HE READILY AGREED, AND WE BRIEFLY DISCUSSED THE
POSSIBILITY OF PDI AND PD AS POSSIBLE SWING VOTES,
ALONG WITH PECO. THERE MAY BE A CHANCE OF AGREEMENT
ALONG THESE LINES.

13. THE OBSERVER DIPLOMATS HERE (FRENCH, BELGIAN,
GERMAN AND U.S.) MET AGAIN THIS AFTERNOON WITH THE
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NONCE. WE UNDERSTAND THERE IS A PROPOSAL FLOATING IN
ARUSHA FOR A JOINT DEMARCHE TO THE RPF AND
HABYARIMANA. WE ARE UNANIMOUS IN RECOMMENDING WE
DELAY SUCH A DEMARCHE UNTIL WE HEAR THE RESULTS OF
THE BISHOPS' EFFORTS AT COMPROMISE OR SYNTHESIS OF
THE TWO PROPOSALS. IF A REASONABLE COMPROMISE IS
PRODUCED, WE WILL BE WILLING TO ENCOURAGE ONE SIDE OR
THE OTHER TO ACCEPT IT. MEETINGS CONTINUE THIS
AFTERNOON BETWEEN THE BISHOPS AND THE PARTIES. WE
EXPECT THE CABINET TO RECONVENE SATURDAY MORNING.

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SUBJECT: ARUSHA PROGRESS

14. COMMENT: MORE BRINKMANSHIP, BUT AT LEAST NOW
THERE IS SOMETHING ON THE TABLE AND THE PROSPECT OF A
COMPROMISE IN THE NEXT COUPLE OF DAYS. END COMMENT
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